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AUTHOR Jensen, Dwight William
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ABSTRACT

To see whether the subject matter of magazines of general circulation and the subject matter of public concern coincide, a study examined the volume of coverage of United States-Soviet relations, communism, and issues of nuclear warfare between the two nations in twentieth century popular magazines. The "Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature" in its 1945-47 volume and the August volumes for each fifth year before and after 1945, extending from 1900 through 1985, yielded the raw material for the study. The numbers of entries listed under each of the selected references were counted, and subject headings that applied were selected and organized into graphs. Findings showed that, as far as the American public is concerned, communism long ago ceased to be a threat; the cold war ended many years ago except as a matter of political rhetoric; and the primary issue today is the cessation of nuclear tension. (Two tables of data, 117 graphs, and 15 notes are included.) (MS)

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MAGAZINE COVERAGE OF ISSUES OF NUCLEAR WARFARE

by Dwight Wm. Jensen

School of Journalism
Marshall University
Huntington, West Va.

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MAGAZINE COVERAGE OF ISSUES OF NUCLEAR WARFARE

ABSTRACT

Magazines of general circulation, this paper argues, tend to publish articles that either reflect or influence public perception of issues. For purposes of this paper, whether the articles are the cause or the result of the perception is immaterial. It is enough to argue that the subject matter of the articles and the subject matter of public concern coincide. The first part of that paper attempts to establish that connection.

The author then examines the volume of coverage during the twentieth century in popular magazines about United States - Soviet relations, communism, and issues of nuclear warfare between the twonations. That information is presented in graph form to allow the reader a visual perspective on the rise and decline of issues in importance as reflected by magazine coverage -- and, therefore, it is argued, as perceived by the public.

From that presentation, the author concludes that as far as the American public is concerned, communism long ago ceased to be a threat, the cold war ended long ago except as a matter of political rhetoric, and the primary issue today is the cessation of nuclear tension.

MAGAZINE COVERAGE OF ISSUES OF NUCLEAR WARFARE

by Dwight Wm. Jensen
Marshall University

George Kennan is among the many who have pondered what can be done to make the nuclear age safer for humanity. He has written that "if this is to occur, . . . American statesmanship will need the support of a press and communications media more serious, and less inclined to oversimplify and dramatize in their coverage of American foreign policy, than what we have known in the recent past."[1]

The purpose of this paper is to explore to some extent the ways in which magazines in the United States have covered the issues of nuclear warfare since the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

Determining that purpose was a two-step process. The original plan for this paper was to examine samples of the coverage and try to determine through content analysis whether the magazine press in the United States contributed, through its coverage, to building a climate of fear that played into the hands of hawkish, pro-nuclear, anti-disarmament forces in American politics and government. It soon became apparent that if such an analysis could be made, it would be of proportions too large to be encompassed in a short paper.

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1 Kennan, The Nuclear Delusion, New York: Pantheon Books 1983, page 46

The preliminary research for that contemplated paper included an examination of the heading "atomic bombs" in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. That exploration led to examinations of related subject headings, and to the ghought that became the guiding idea for this paper.

That idea was to use the subject headings themselves to show the general trends in magazine coverage during the atmmic era. As will be explained in the section about Method, the exploration was also taken into the pre-atomic era for purposes of comparison. The entire exploradion was informed and guided by certain statements made in certain books discussing the political problems of the nuclear age.

Views of the Political Problems of the Nuclear Age

The American press is frequently said to be strongly sympathetic toward established power.[2] "Reality in the nuclear age tends to become what people whose voices carry say it is,"[3] and in the matter of atomic weapons the government has made a determined effot to see that its voice is by far the loudest and has the most carrying power. In the matter of atomic weapons, the American government has often tried to silence other voices.[4] Consequently,

2 The claim is explicit in Gaye Tuchman's bobk Making News. This writer has conducted research, including "Authorized Spokespersons Only: Keeping the Gate Against Hoi Polloi," Western Humanities Review, Winter 1983, and in an unpublished paper, "Items for a Profile: The Local TV Newsroom," suggesting that the primary sources of news for most television newscasts and newspaper articles, and sometimes virtually the only sources, are government officials. See also Indefensible Weaons by Robert J. Lifton and Richard Falk, page 156

3 The New Yorker, but Iregret that my note does not include the citation, beyond the fact that it appeared in 1985.

4 Falk and Lifton, op. cit., pp. 135, 136, 147, and 205. "The Politics of Nuclear Weapons: Has Democracy Let Us Down?" by Robert A. Dahl, from his 1984 Abrams lectures at Syracuse University, The Record, March 29, 1984. Kennan refers to the tendency on page 29 of the work cited above.

the abolition of nuclear weapons has had a bad press."[5] Three problems, or factors, seem to interlock and work together. One is the tendency of the Establishment to propagandize.[6] The second is the tendency of news media to gear their coverage toward personal violence, such as murder and rape, but not toward structural violence, such as poverty and nuclear overkill.[7] The third is what Richard Henry Lee called "the silent, powerful, and ever active conspiracy of thee who govern."[8]

All these factors and others lead me to wonder whether and to what extent press coverage of nuclear weapons and of related issues, such as the Cold War, U.S. - Soviet relations, and internal security, has contributed either toward the resolution or the lack of resolution of these issues.

That topic in its entirety is to broad for a paper of this nature, so in this paper I attack one small part of the question.

Research Question

The question to be explored in this paper is:

> Does the coverage in American magazines of general circulation of issues relating to nuclear warfare, U.S. - Soviet relations, and United States national defense and national security appear to either reflect or induce a national preoccupation with fear of Communism, with secrecy, and/or with fear of war?

This paper rests upon an assumption that there is a

5 "Talk of the Town," The New Yorker, Feb. 17, 1986, p. 24

6 This is thoroughly discussed, perhaps a little too gloomily but perhaps not, in Propaganda by Jacques Ellul, New York: Alfred A. Knopf 1966

7. Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research," Journal of Conflict Resolution (1969) pp. 161-191.

8. In a letter to George Mason, contained in the papers of George Mason.

relationship between the content of magazines and the public interest in the topics covered by that content. It is not necessary to determine in which direction the causality exists. It is also assumed that a lack of coverage indicates an editorial perception that the public sees no crying need to be informed about that topic.

The assumption of causality rests upon an economic assumption: that magazines in the United States cannot survive without subscribers, and that subscribers will purchase only those magazines that tend to publish material of interest to the subscribers. The literature discussing the nature of magazine editing and publishing seems to support that assumption. For example:

> As a merchant of insight, an editor must feel that he knows, best of all, what is true and interesting. . . . (The) reader . . . reads roughshod over the . . . irrelevant story. . . . The challenge of magazine editing is to confront this man, fix his attention and tell him something he hasn't heard, or sometimes, even what he does not want to hear.[9]

Moreover, this article assumes a close relationship between editors and governmental sources of news. That, too, is supported by the literature, often in criticism of editors.[10] Andrew Arno and Wimel Dissanayake write that the media work by "Turning the reality of conflicts into stories, which then become part of the reality . . ."[11] and quote John H. Hertz as saying, "It is perhaps no exaggeration to say that today half of power politics consists

9 William Arthur, then editor of Look magazine, in his foreword to Modern Magazine Editing by Robert Root; Dubuque: William C. Brown Co. 1966, p. xi. Similar arguments appear throughout that book (see especially pp. 13, 15-16, 22-23, and 24) and in such other books as Magazine Editing in the 1980's by William L. Rivers; Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Publishing Co. 1983, esp. pp. 2, 6, 11-15, 23-26, and 35.

10 See, for example, Making News by Gaye Tuchman and Propaganda by Jacques Ellul.

11 In The News Media in National and International Conflict; Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press 1984, page 1

of 'image-making.'"[12] There is no shortage of similar arguments.[13]

The literature on the topic of agenda-setting by the press seems to support such an hypothesis, even though the literature is not necessarily conclusive about the nature or the direction of that influence and even though there appears to have been very little research about agenda-setting by magazines.[14]

For the purposes of this paper, it is necessary only to assume the relationship. It is not necessary to determine directions or causality. The findings here seem equally valid under any of the following circumstances:

1. The readers of magazines tend to think about the topics covered in the magazines they read.

2. The leaders of opinion tend tothink about the topics covered in the magazines they read.

3. Editors tend to select topics that readers are discussing.

4. Editors tend to select topics that opinion leaders are discussing.

Any of the following diagrams suggesting the direction of opinion flow seem valid as far as this paper is concerned:

12 Ibid., page 45

13 See, for example, Ibid., page 106

14 The only example found was "Treating the Indo-Pakistan Conflict: The Role of Indian Newspapers and Magazines," by Sripada K.S. Raju, S.K. Jagadeswari, and Wimal Dissanayake, in The News Media in National and International Conflict, op. cit. Among other references are: Donald L. Shaw, Maxwell E. McCombs, et al., The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press; St. Paul: West Publishing Co. 1977; McCombs, "The Agenda-Setting Approach," Handbook of Political Communication, edited by Dan. D. Nimmo and Keith R. Sanders, Beverly Hills: Sage 1981; Cliff Zukin, "Mass Communication and Public Opinion," same book.

Editor ---- Reader ---- Policymaker

Editor ---- Policymaker ---- Reader

Reader ---- Editor ---- Policymaker

Reader ---- Policymaker ---- Editor

Policymaker ---- Reader ---- Editor

Policymaker ---- Editor ---- Reader

For the record: It is the last of those diagrams that the writer of this paper assumes to be the most likely to be valid, but whether that is true is a topic for further research, and is not material to this paper.[15]

For the purposes of this paper, several questions implicit in the research question are not attacked. It was considered unnecessary torefine the tpic in any of the following ways:

1. It was not necessary to determine whether, if a relationship exists, that relationship involves reflecting a fear or inducing a fear or both.

2. It was not considered necessary to determine whether, if fear exists, it exists among readers or among policymakers or both, or if it does not necessarily exist at all but is an attempt by policymakers to cause fear among the general public (perhaps in an attempt to gain public approval of certain policies or budgets).

15 George Donohue, Phillip J. Tichenor, and Clarice N. Olien dwell on this point on pages 204-207 of "Media Evaluations and Group Power" in Ibid. Sample statements:

"The tendency for the media to be responsive to the dominant power centers of the social system has been illustrated in a wide range of social science literature."

"Further evidence that media coverage is generally supportive of established groups is provided by a number of other empirical studies."

"These results may be interpreted as indicating that press roles are organized so as to respond most efficiently to persons of power in the source groups."

Method

After the false start mentioned above, the following method of research was adopted:

The writer selected a number of subject headings that seem to apply to the research question stated. The list was revised from time to time during the conduct of the research in order to conform to the conventions of indexers and to bring into account a number of cross-references, related topics, and comparable topics. For example, Communism, the Soviet Union, and the Cold War were on the original list. Germany, Japan, and Italy were added when research was extended to the pre-1945 period. Soviet Foreign Relations and Communism and Democracy were added because the heading Cold War, when used at all, merely referred readers to those two headings. German, Japanese, and Italian foreign relations and the headings Fascism and Fascism and Democracy were added for purposes of comparison.

The writer examined the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature in its 1945-47 volume (which actually omits the first months of 1945 but includes the crucial month of August, when the atomic bomb became a matter of public knowledge) and the volumes covering August for each fifth year before and after 1945, extending from 1900 through 1985. The writer counted the numbers of entries listed under each of the selected references.

It should be noted that one consequence of the method is that the numbers used herein refer to the number of entries found in an index covering a two-year period of publication. That's because the 1945-47 volume and several volumes before and after that covered two-year periods. In later years volumes covered only one year, but, for purposes of comparison, two-year figures were compiled. In 1930 and before, volumes covered three to five years. In those cases, the writer adopted an appropriate fraction (as shown in footnotes to the tables) in order to extract a two-year figure.

The Reader's Guide volumes included in the study were those for 1900-1904, 1905-1909, 1910-1914, 1915-1919, 1919-1921, 1925-1928, 1929-1932, 1935-1937, 1939-1941, 1945-1947, 1949-1951, 1955-1957, 1959-1961, 1965-1967, 1969-1971, 1974-1976, 1979-1981, 1984, and 1985.

Because of the nature of the Reader's Guide method of indexing, the writer found he had to include only the entries under the "pure" subject heading itself, or under specific subheads chosen. For example, under the heading Communism the writer counted only those entries that were listed under the main heading, not any that were listed under subheadings (except for the subheading Communism -- United States). Departing from that practice would have led to the counting of duplicate entries and a number of irrelevant entries. (In many cases irrelevant entries had to be included anyway, even under this method, but at least their number has been held to a minimum.)

Once the count was made, the writer plotted a graph for each subject heading, showing the incidence of entries under that subject heading for each two-year period during the century.

The graphs were all made identical in size, showing the years 1900-1985 on the horizontal with 22 units on the vertical. Each of the 22 units on the vertical was given a value such that on each graph the high point would occur somewhere near the top of the graph -- almost always in the top one-tenth of the graph. As a result, it is possible to make an eyeball comparison of the graphs to see whether patterns of coverage coincide, differ, or have inverse relationships or relationships in which the curves are similar but one curve lags behind another.

The subject headings fall into several groups:

Atomic bombs, guided missiles, atomic weapons, and hydrogen bombs comprise a group including a fair sampling of references to nuclear weapons. Atomic warfare is a related but separate topic.

These entries (except atomic warfare) plus armaments, munitions, and weapons comprise a group intended to sample references to all military weapons systems and to provide a basis of comparison for the years preceding the advent of the atmic bomb.

Communism and Communism -- United States are meant to measure the extent of American concern with that idealogy.

Fascism, Fascism -- United States, Fascism -- Japan, Fascism -- Germany, Italy -- Fascist Movement, and Fascisti are used to measure comparative concern with another idealogy with which the United States went to war in this century.

Communism and Democracy and Soviet Union -- Foreign Relations (usually listed as Russia -- Foreign Relations because the reference was changed to Soviet Union only in recent years) are listed as surrogates for Cold War, which has no entries of its own but sometimes refers readers to those headings. (The Guide also refers readers to United States -- Foreign Relations, but the writer omitted that heading on the grounds that it was likely to include many entries irrelevant to the Cold War, while coverage of Soviet Foreign Relations in American magazines was likely to be heavily related to the Cold War.)

Internal Security and United States -- Defenses make a group intended to measure the degree of American concern about being attacked, from without or within.

Disarmament, Peace, and War were counted, separately, as entries that obviously ought to be included in this study.

Loyalty, Loyalty -- Oaths of, Loyalty Investigations, and Patriotism were included as measures of American concern for an internal threat by communists.

TABLES OF INCIDENCE

The following tables show how many entries occurred for the headings chosen during each two-year period included in the study. As shown here, the tables include the years before 1945 and the years from 1945 on. The subject headings are somewhat different on the twolists, primarily because atomic weapons did not exist to be indexed before 1945, but for reasons of fashion in indexing as well.

Year	1900	1905	1910	1915	1920	1925	1930	1935	1940
Heading	1	2		3	4	5			
Armaments		4	9	6	6	6	14	28	29
Munitions				30	2	2	9	53	12
Weapons		2	1	2					
ALL CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS	0	6	10	38	8	8	23	81	41
Atomic power	2	9	18	16	18	24	22	35	18
ALL WEAPONS6	2	15	28	54	26	32	45	116	59
Communism	2	5	2	1	14	8	26	72	22
U.S.					10	5	50	88	73
ALL COMMUNISM	2	5	2	1	24	13	84	160	95
Fascism					10	8	7	51	23
U.S.						2	3	25	20
Germany							4		
Italy						67	26		
Japan							3		
ALL FASCISM7					10	77	43	76	43
ALL IDEOLOGY	2	5	2	1	34	90	127	236	138
Disarmament	1	5		6	64	16	103	4	23
Loyalty		2	1	6	2	2	1	3	1
Oaths of Patriotism	11	6	9	24	8	0	0	1	1
LOYALTY PATRIOTISM	11	8	10	30	10	2	7	17	14
							8	21	16

1Column shows 2/5 of the listings, rounded, because this volume covers five years, 1905-1909

2Ibid.

3The column shows 2/3 of the number of listings because this volume covers three years, 1919-1921

4The columns show half the actual listings, rounded to the even number, because one volume covers the period 1925-1928

5Columns show 4/7 of actual listings, rounded, because this volume covers 3 and 1/2 years, January 1929 through June 1932

6Including potential atomic weapons. To call pre-1945 articles about atomic energy articles about potential atomic weapons is a bit far-fetched, and that part of the chart and of the graph should be taken with several grains of salt.

7The Fascism figures were also compiled for 1945, but are not included in the 1945-85 charts. They are included in the graphs. The entries were 12 for Fascism, 11 for Fascism -- United States

Mil. Intell.					1	8		0	1
Espionage		1							
Secrecy	1	1							
Spies	1	2	6	19	10	3	6	15	26
ALL SPYING	2	4	6	19	11	11	6	15	27
Nat'l defense				1			0	0	
Peace	19	41	73	80	26	62	80	134	87
China	32	39	35	8	14	17	26	27	13
Frn Reltns	24	16	14	11	24	39	11	7	6
Russia	24	33	10	11	14	25	47	33	18
Frn Reltns	25	24	20	8	66	28	18	23	115
TOTAL SINO-									
RUSSIAN	56	72	45	19	28	42	75	60	31
FRN RLTNS	49	40	34	19	90	67	29	30	121
US Defenses		2	6		4	10	7	33	220
War	27	24	60	94	40	66	65	156	104

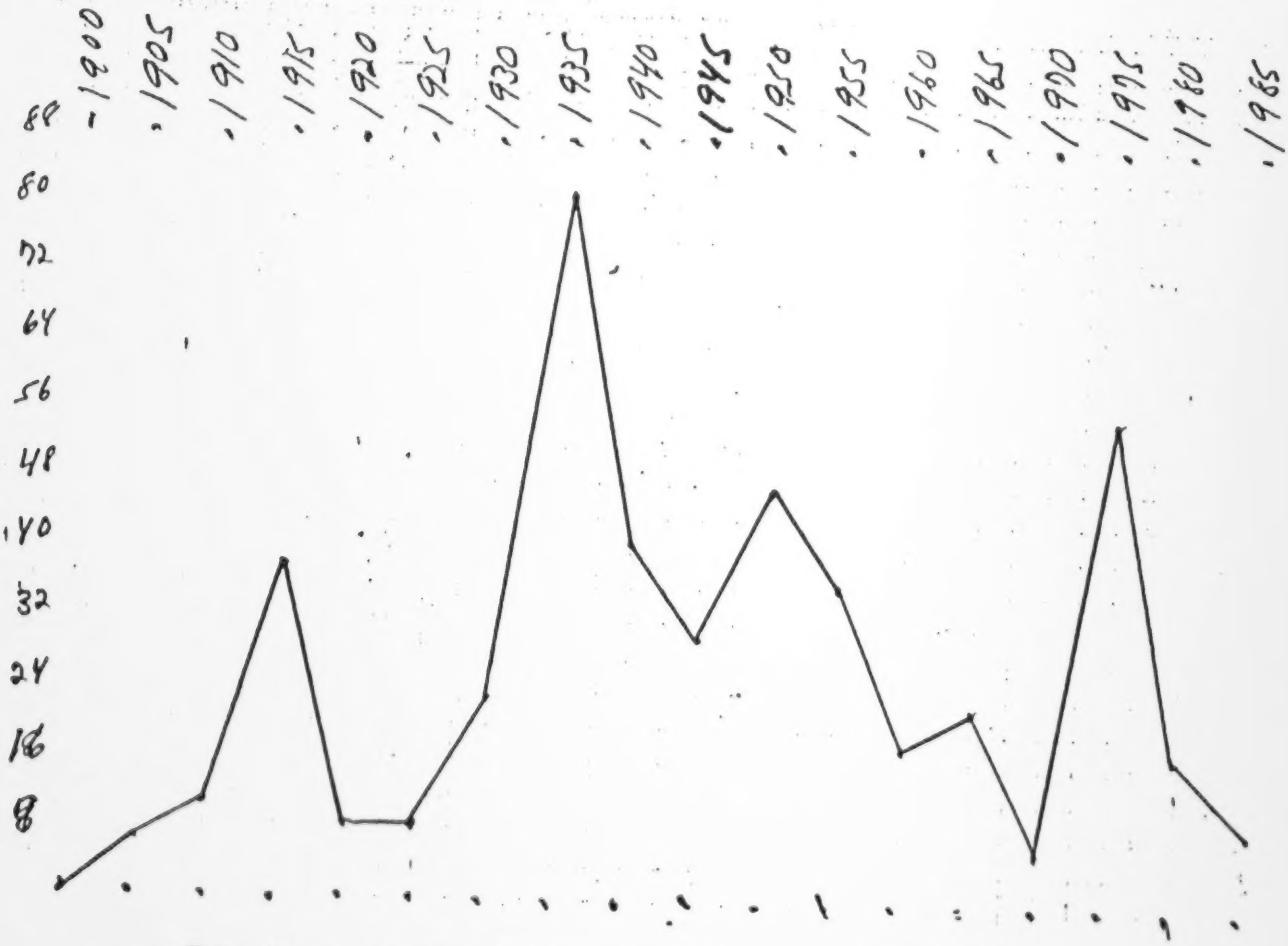
Year Heading	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985
Armaments	11	7	1	1	5	1	4		
Munitions	1	40	14	9	9	8	42	2	7
Weapons			21	8	12	2	10	15	2
Flying bombs	18 (thereafter discontinued; see Guided Missiles								
ALL CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS	30	47	36	18	26	11	56	17	9
Atomic bombs	153	85	28	11	16	2	4	49	3
Hydrogen bombs	0	62	49		31	2			
Atomic weapons	0	0	50	36	29	12	16	24	68
Guided missiles		35	191	136	58	26	51	109	29
ALL NUCLEAR	153	182	318	183	134	42	71	182	100
ALL WEAPONS	183	229	354	201	160	53	127	199	109
Atomic warfare	45	38	77	63	8		8	50	78

Communism	39	98	108	67	18	16	3	8	6
U.S.	40	53	32	34	15	4	0	0	1
and democ.	0	51	32	45	27	10	2	5	5
ALL COMMUNISM	79	202	172	146	60	30	5	13	12
Disarmament	47	21	173	123	20	15	15	23	212
Intern security			65	6	2	9	25	4	5
Loyalty	1	5	3	0	0	2	2	0	1
Oaths of	1	45	8	36	4	3	2	1	0
Investigations		29	112	7	1	0	0	0	0
Security program, U.S.								3	
Patriotism	3	2	6	1	10	4	5	6	10
LOYALTY/ PATRIOTISM	5	81	194	50	17	18	34	14	16
National defemse	9	8	1	1	0	1	0		
Peace	114	98	65	54	69	25	16	6	9
China	20	18	10	10	22	8	8	18	3
Frn Reltns	4	8	50	46	53	6	6	10	2
Russia	52	10	8	7	4	4	5	12	1
Frn Reltns	162	140	322	227	17	33	10	53	16
ALL COMMUNIST	72	28	18	17	26	12	13	30	4
FRN REL	166	148	372	273	70	39	16	63	18
Espionage	0	0	10	14	11	6	30	1	6
Russian/US	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20	76
US/Russia	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	19
Spies	59	23	29	25	31	5	2		
Military intelligence	2			8	2	1		2	1
Ofcl secrets			8	10	2		11	37	7
US -- CIA	3	5	12	18	46	20	168	120	
ALL SPYING	64	28	59	65	92	32	211	187	109
U.S. defense	41	103	85	181	47	43	53	96	52
War	54	94	42	32	8	9	4	9	7

GRAPHS AND ANALYSIS

From the tables just preceding, the following graphs were constructed. Each is displayed here with a brief discussion of its significance.

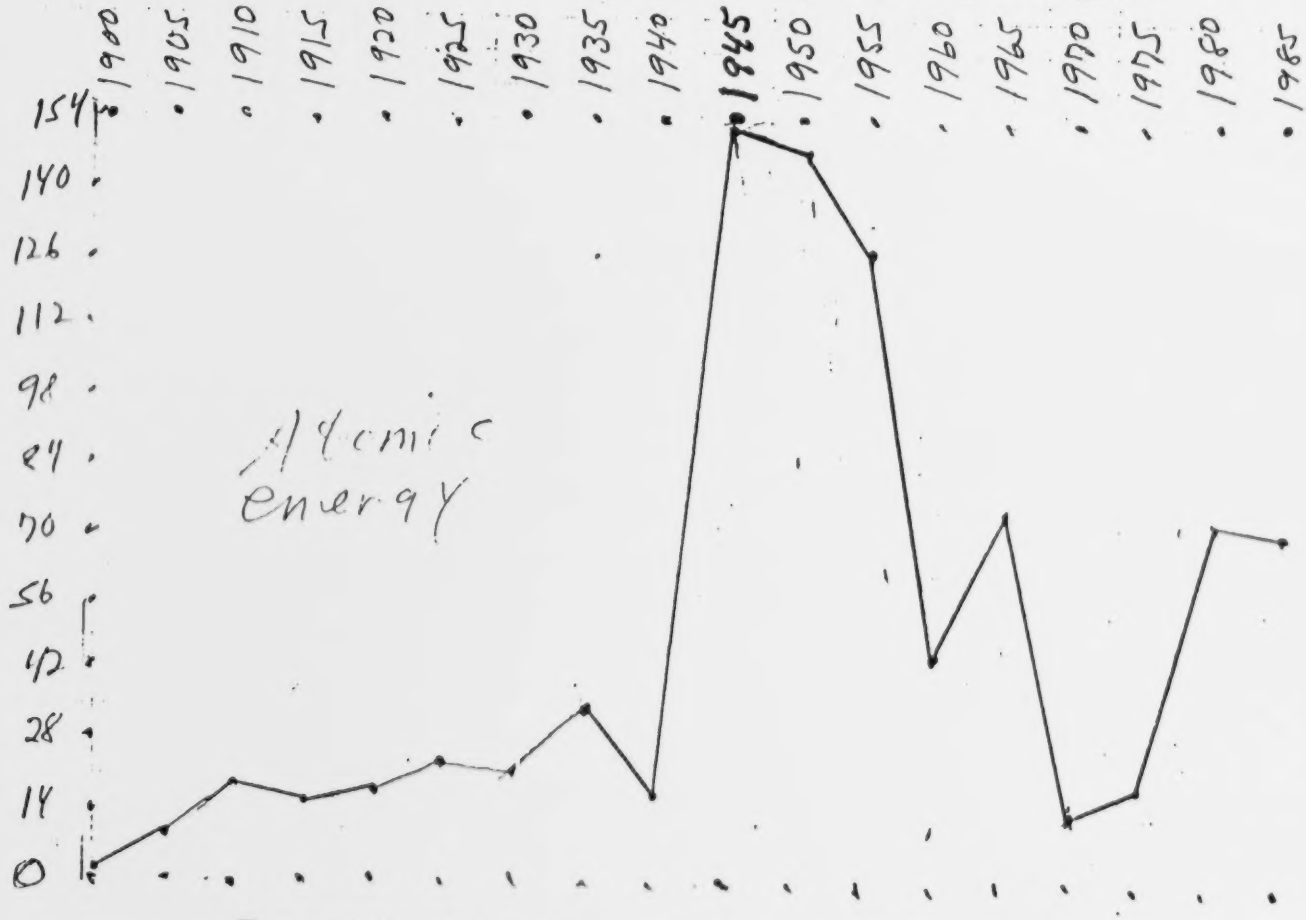
Graph 1: Armaments, munitions, and weapons



For the most part, these articles represent non-nuclear weapons. The apex of interest was in 1935, which will be seen to be a time when many of the topics in this study reached the peak of magazine coverage. In this case the interest probably had to do with the fighting in Asia and the preparations to fight in Europe. There were other peaks

of interest: In 1915, coinciding with World War I; in 1950, coinciding with the Korean War and the increase in fear that the Soviet Union might attack; and in 1975, when much of the coverage had to do with arms sales by the United States and other arms manufacturers.

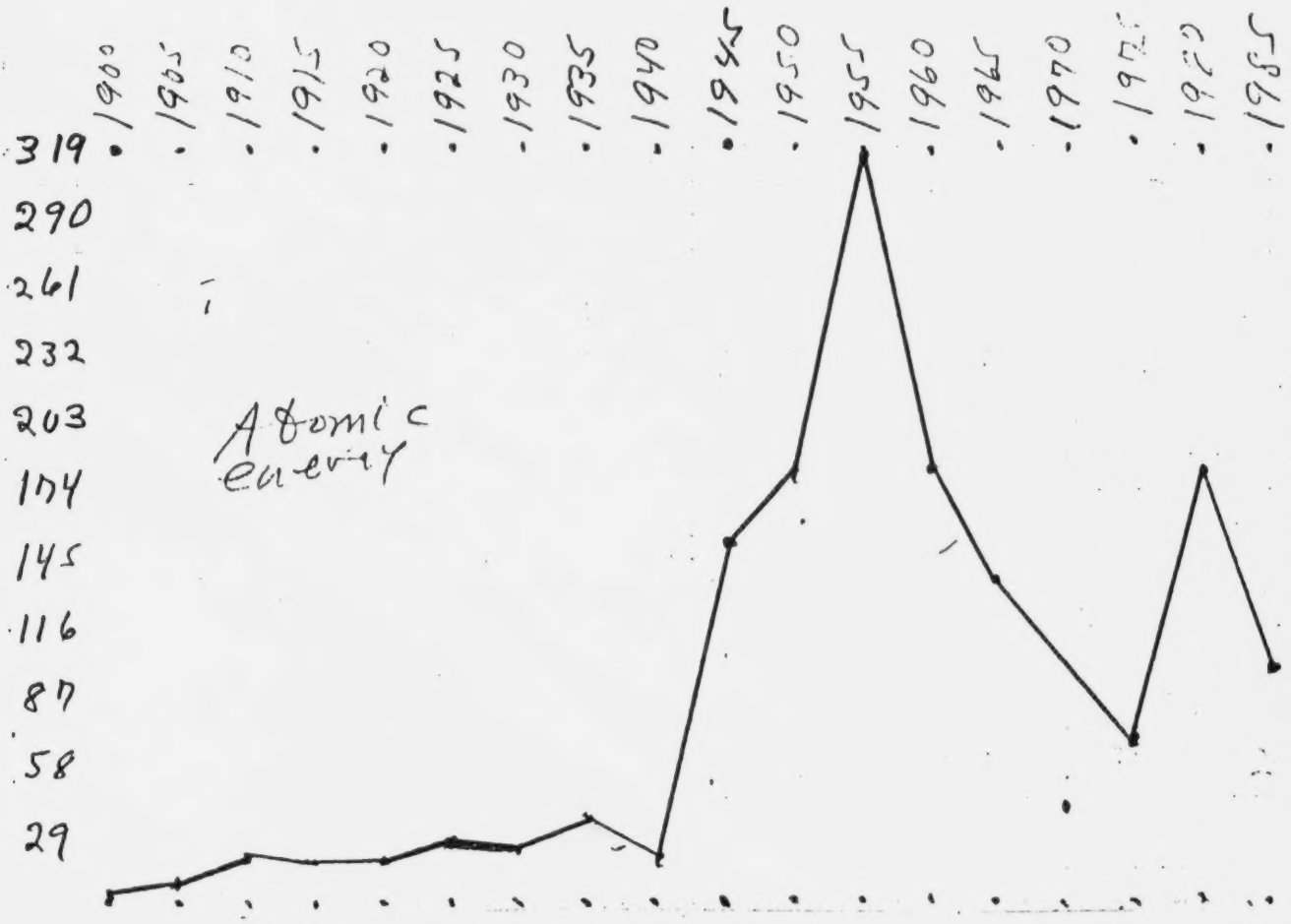
Graph 2: Atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs, and atomic weapons



The entries for atomic energy from 1900 to 1940 are included in this chart because many of those articles refer to the potential to release explosive amounts of energy by splitting the atom. That was realized at least as far back as 1905, according to the titles of some of the articles listed. The peaks of coverage of those weapons occurred in 1945 when the atomic bomb was used and thereby became known, and in 1950, by which time the Soviet Union shared the secret and the Cold War had begun. Interest continued

high through 1955, then fell sharply. It reached a nadir in 1970, when the nation was in the midst of an anti-war movement, but increased in 1980, which might have something to do with Reagan rhetoric.

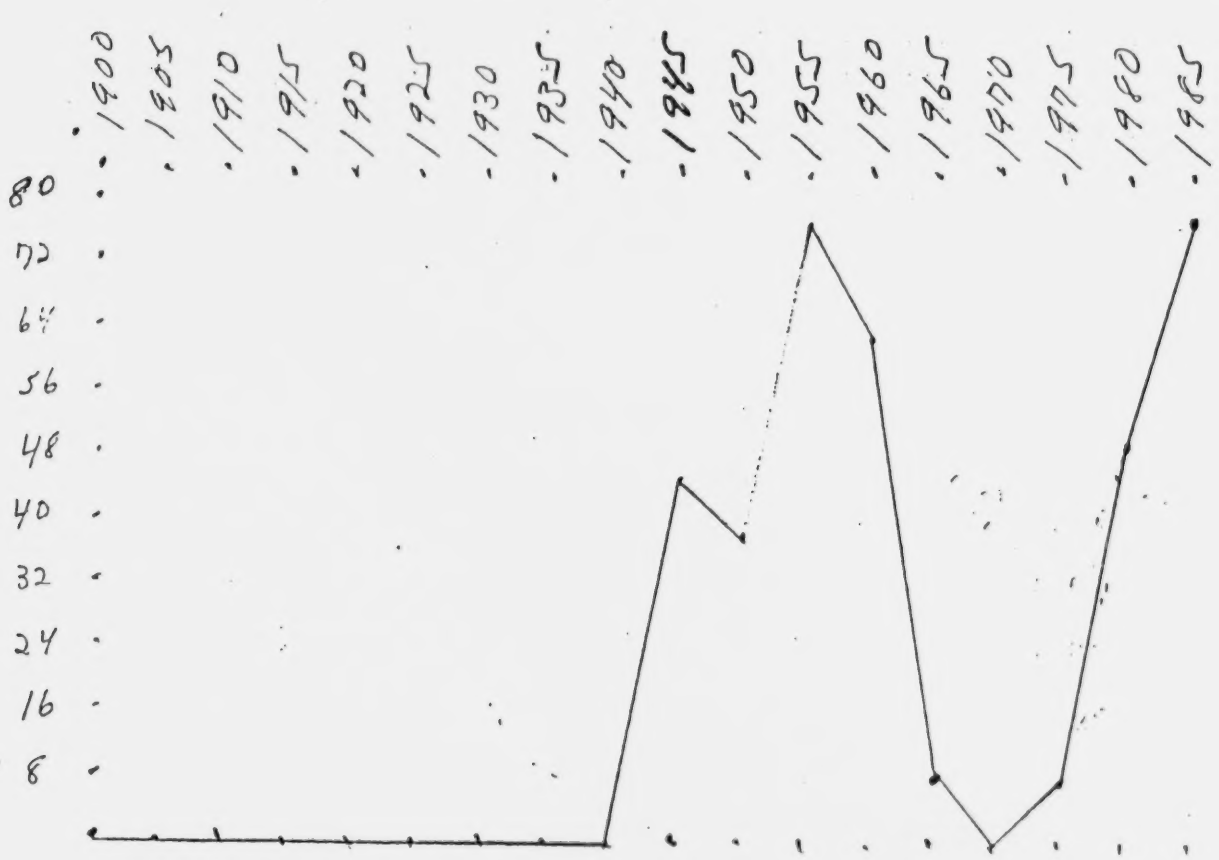
Graph 3: All nuclear weapons (those above plus guided missiles)



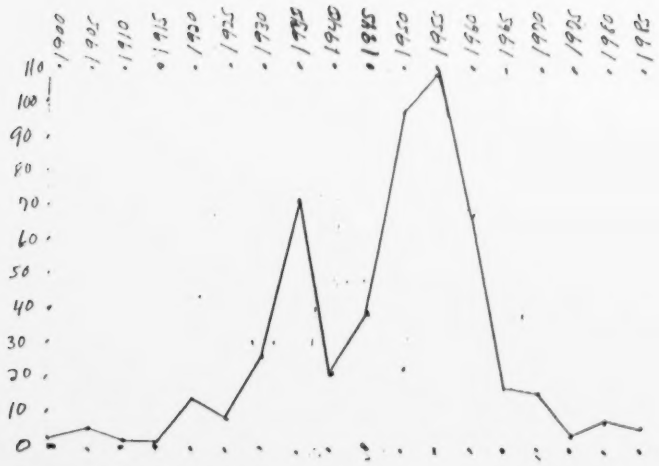
This graph is interesting because it shows that when guided missiles, which are now the weapon of choice among nuclear warriors, are added to the equation, the peak was reached in 1955, when they began to be practical carriers of atomic weapons. There had already been interest because of German rocket bomb attacks on England in 1945 and before and because of the effort to develop missiles in 1950. After 1955, interest declined until the 1980 election year.

The graph for All Weapons is not included here, but it shows generally the same pattern as the preceding graph.

Graph 4: Atomic warfare

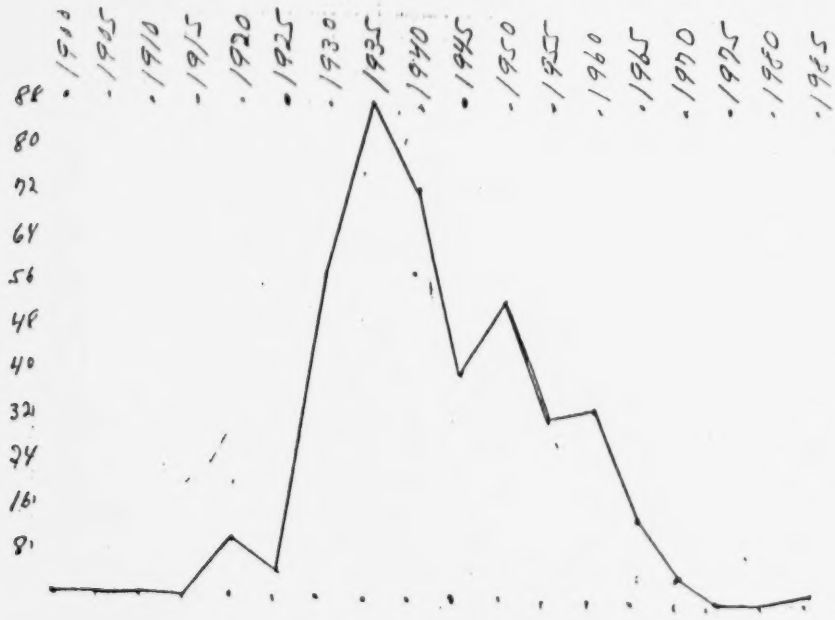


With this graph, we begin to see an interesting pattern emerge. Magazine coverage of the possibility of atomic warfare reached a peak in 1955, just as did coverage of guided missiles -- and, as we shall see, coverage of a number of other topics. In 1955 the Cold War was in full swing, the Korean War was a fresh memory, and McCarthyism had not subsided. War talk was common, and continued to be common through 1960. Then interest fell sharply, to be aroused again by Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign and his subsequent suggestion for the Strategic Defence Initiative, along with his anti-Soviet rhetoric. The 1985 peak will be discussed under another heading farther along.



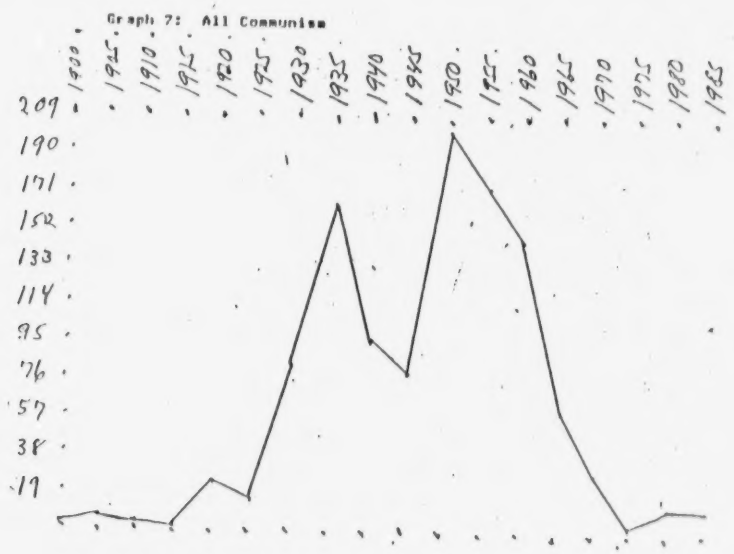
We see another 1955 peak: discussion of Communism. The second-highest period in the study was 1950. McCarthyism and the Cold War are plausible explanations. This graph, seen in the light of the preceding graph concerning atomic warfare, shows an increase in apparent concern about atomic warfare during the Reagan years has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in concern about communism. It appears that Americans no longer care much about the ideological discussion. The issue of war has taken on a life independent of the issue of ideology.

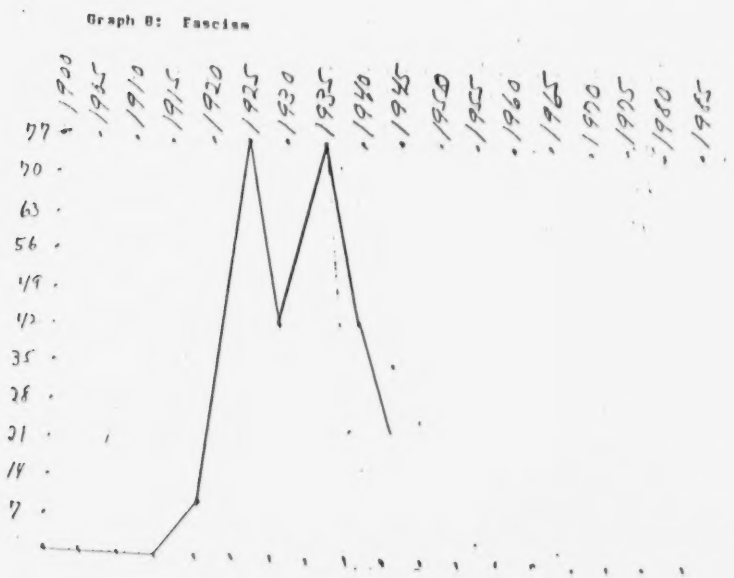
Graph 6: Communism -- United States



17.

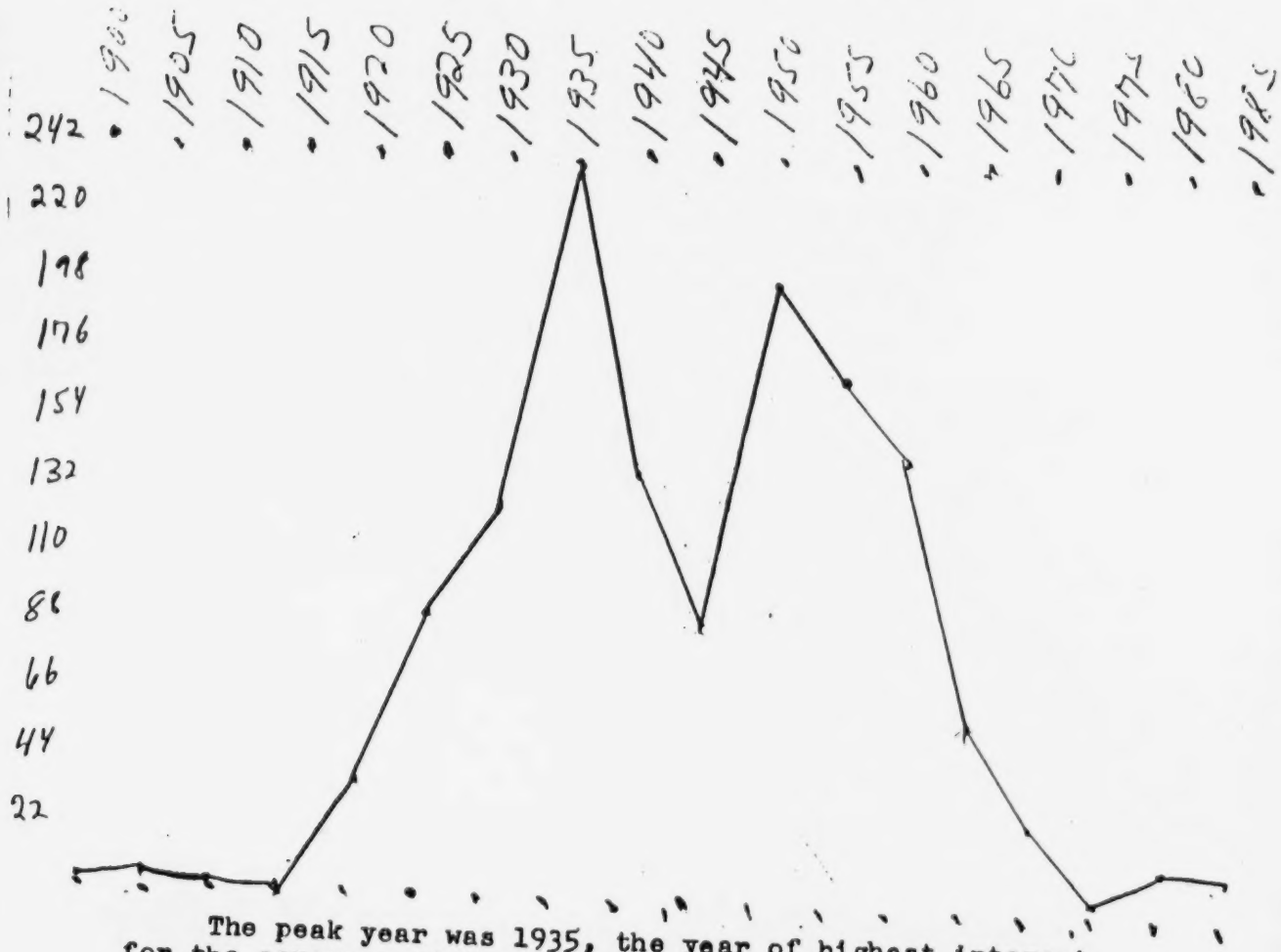
In this chart we see that coverage of communism within the United States peaked during the Depression years and was still high just before we entered World War II. Since then there has been decline in interest in that topic, except for a slight increase during the Korean war period (the heyday of Congressional investigating committees) and a modest surge during the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential campaign. In recent years the topic seems to have little appeal for editors. Concern about possible domestic subversion seems to have died away.





Like a dog's ears, American interest in Fascism reached two peaks of attention. The first in 1925, when Mussolini ascended in Italy; the second in 1935, when Hitler ascended in Germany. A graph not included here would show that coverage of Fascism in the United States peaked in 1935 and remained high through 1940.

Graph 9: All Ideology (Communism plus Fascism)

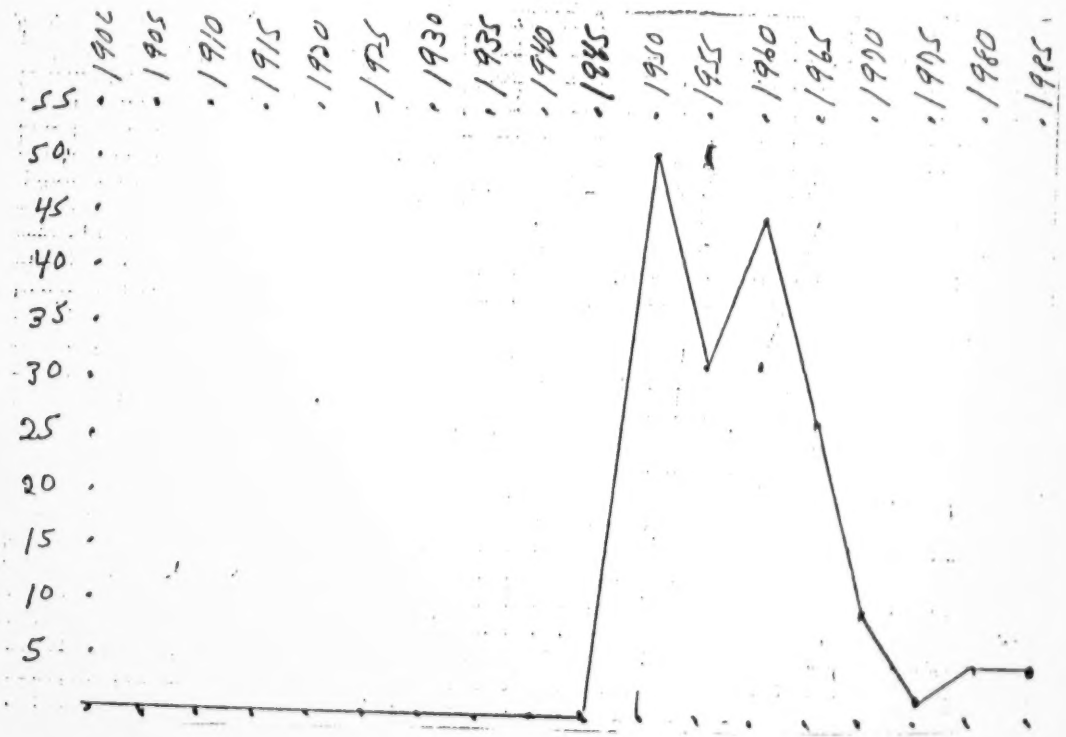


The peak year was 1935, the year of highest interest for the coverage of both Communism and Fascism. Interest in communism remained high during the 1950s, but in the United States today it appears that editors have no reason to believe people want to spend much time reading about those ideologies.

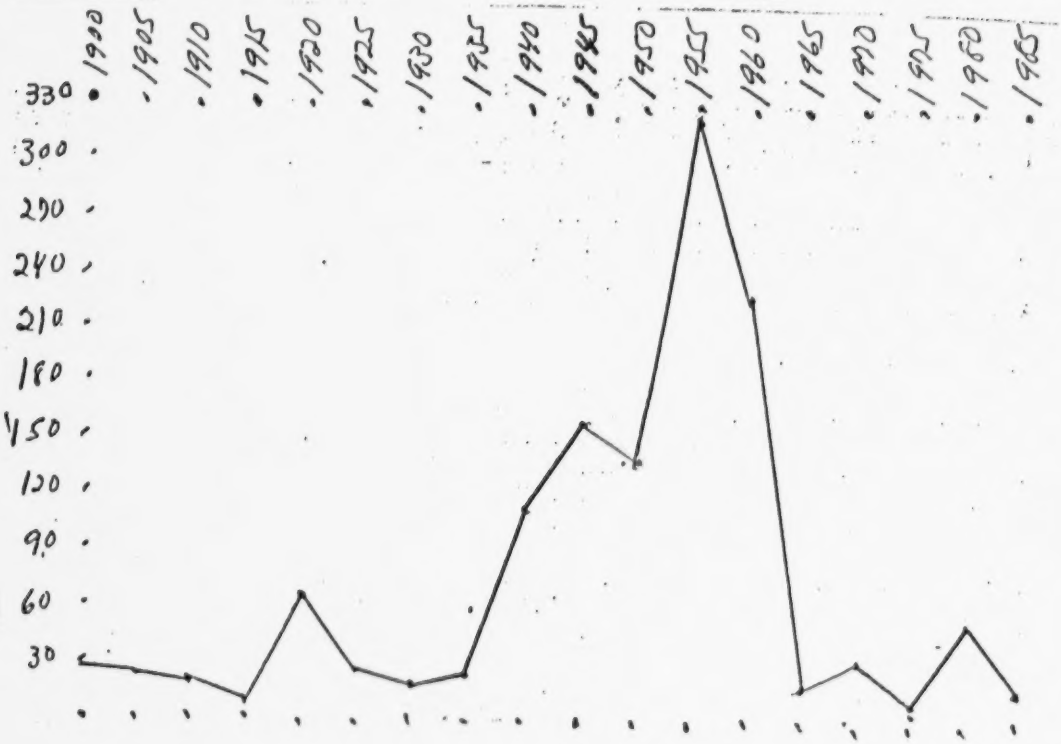
THE COLD WAR

The following twocharts, taken together, show that the Cold War reached a peak during the 1950s, and did so in an interesting way. The Reader's Guide never included "Cold War" as a subject heading, but sometimes referred people checking that entry to "Communism and Democracy" and to "Russia (or Soviet Union) -- Foreign Relations." When we chart those two entries we find, as we see below, that interest in "Communism and Democracy" peaked in 1950 -- Korean War and McCarthyism -- and, after something of a drop in mid-decade, rose again in 1960. Interest in Soviet Foreign Relations peaked in 1955. The combination made the 1950s the decade of the Cold War. Since then, the drop in interest is so steep it suggests that Americans no longer recognize, or at least no longer worry about, any such thing as a Cold War.

Graph 10: Communism and Democracy



Graph 11: Soviet Union -- Foreign Relations

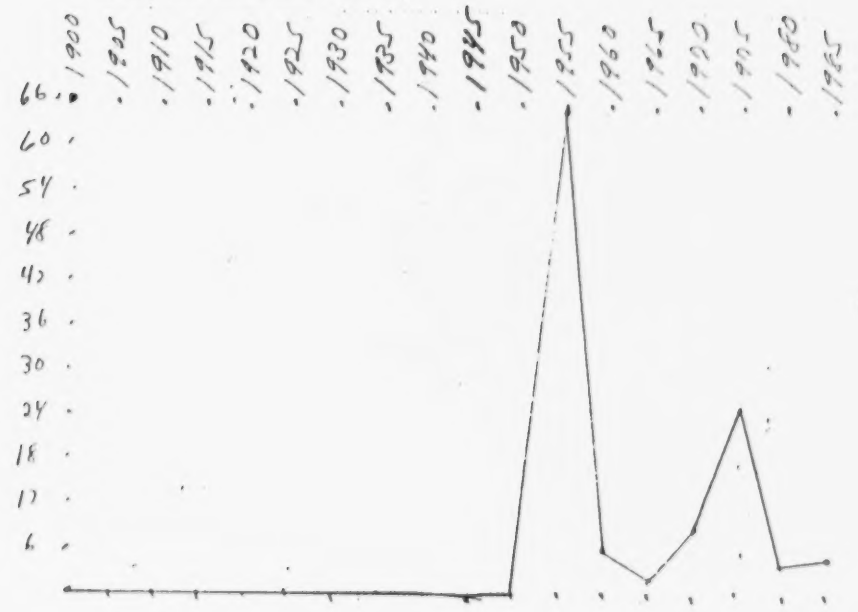


QUESTIONS OF SECURITY

The two charts on the next page show the degree of American concern -- as indicated by the amount of magazine coverage -- about being attacked, from within or without. The charts indicate considerable concern about external attack in 1940, just before World War II, and also in 1960, just after Sputnik and during the time John Kennedy was warning about a "missile gap." But except for those two years and a small peak at the time of Korea, attack from without seems to be of minor concern to Americans, although concern did increase during the first Reagan election year.

As seen in the first chart, concern about Internal Security hit a peak during the end of the McCarthy era and has not been high before or after that except for the mid-1970s, when the U.S. Senate was investigating the Central Intelligence Agency in its role as what Senator Frank Church called a "rogue elephant."

Graph 12: Internal Security



Graph 13: United States -- Defenses

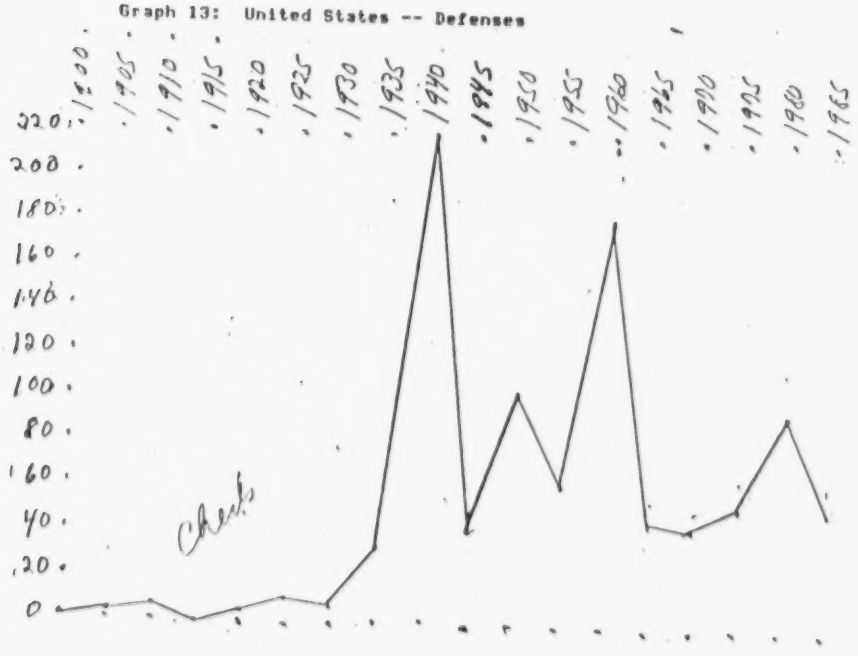
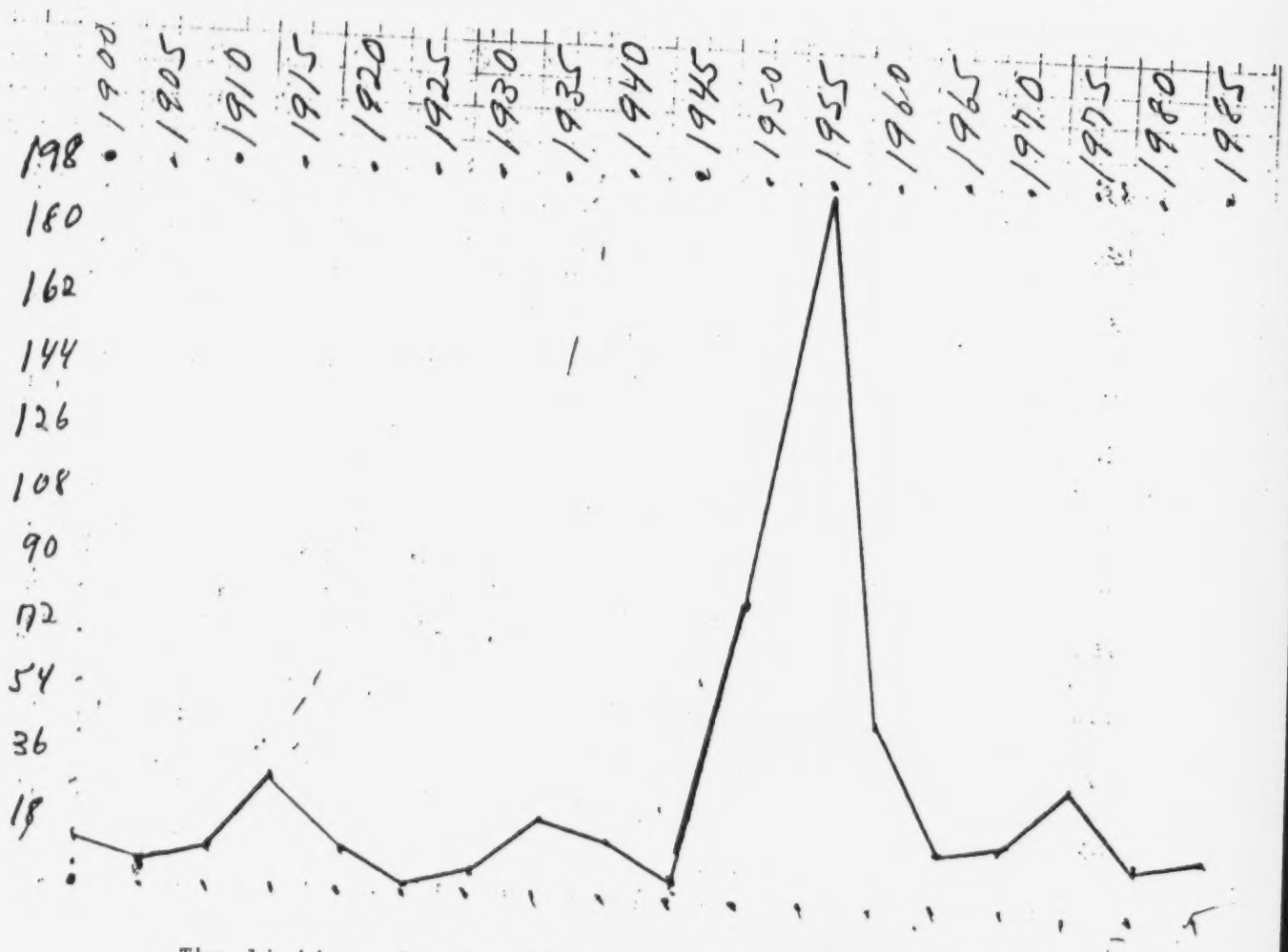
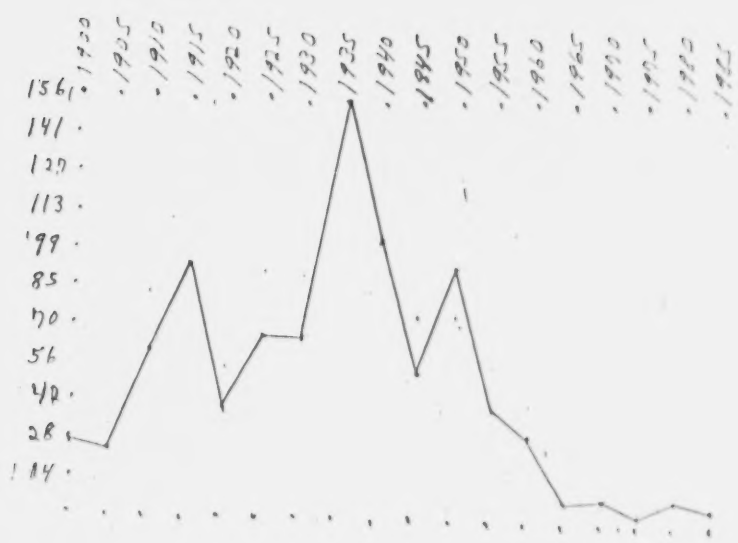


Chart 14: Patriotism and Loyalty



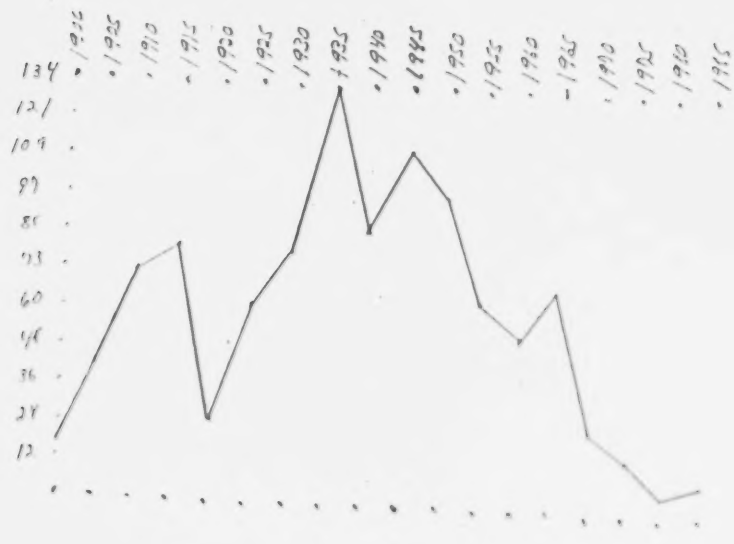
The listings for Loyalty, Loyalty -- Oaths of, Loyalty Investigations, and Patriotism were added to get this chart. It demonstrates that during this century there has been only one period -- the middle 1950s -- when Americans seemed to be deeply concerned about the loyalty of their countrymen. That peak coincides with the peaks of concern about communism and about nuclear weapons. In spite of some recent appeals by President Reagan, Oliver North, and others, Americans no longer seem deeply concerned about the issue.

Chart 15: War



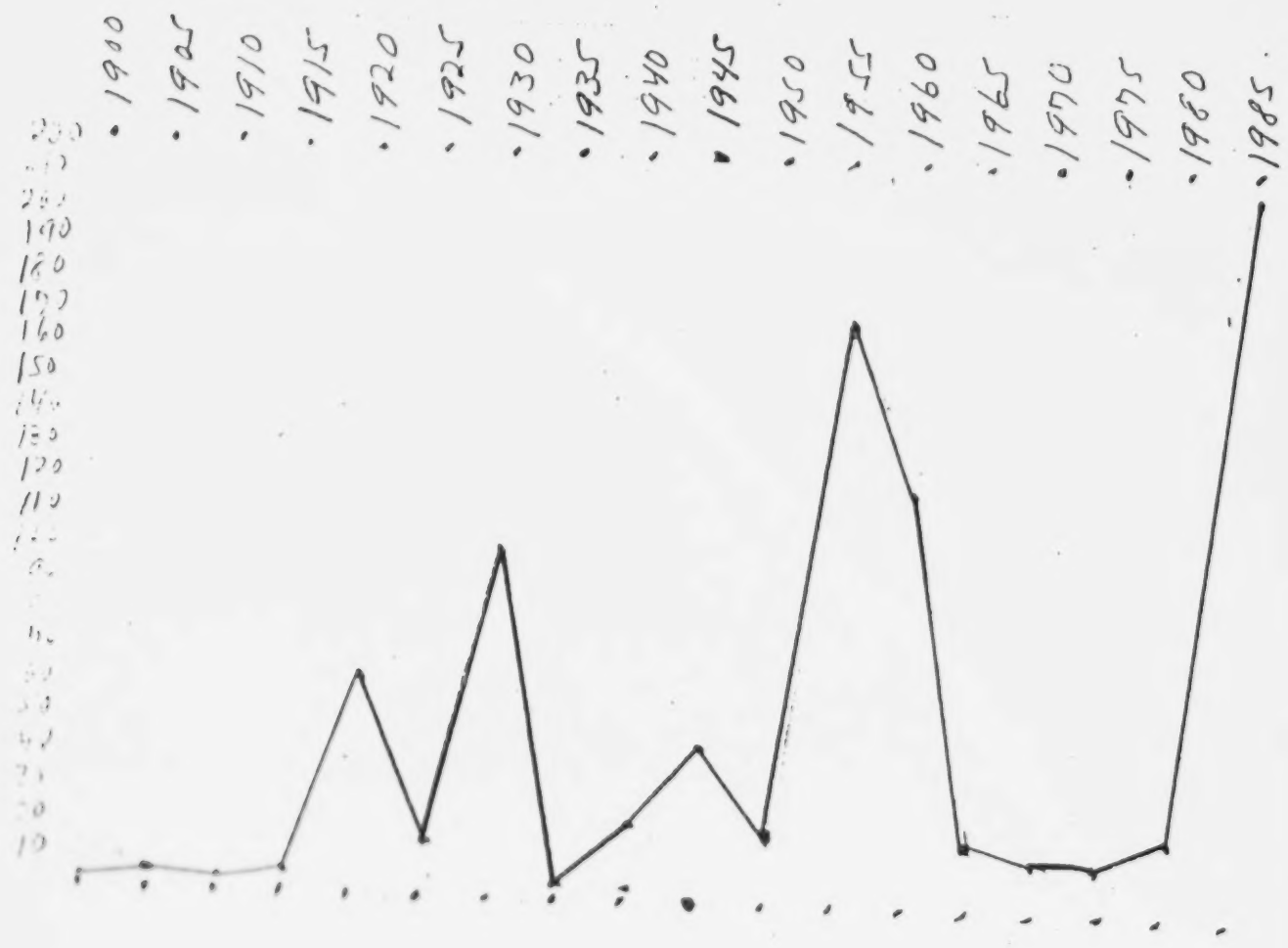
American concern about war, as reflected in magazine coverage, reached peaks during times of actual war -- 1915 and 1950 and especially in 1935, when war had begun in Asia (and in Ethiopia -- the Reader's Guide volume used here includes 1936-37). Present-day interest in the topic is low.

Graph 16: Peace



American concern with peace seems to have been at a fairly high level during much of the century, especially during the years of World War II. The decline in 1940 might indicate an attitude of resignation to war, but even then interest in peace was at its fourth-highest level in the study. It also was high in 1915 (World War I) and 1965 (the Vietnam War). Recently, perhaps because the nation is not in or apparently facing war, interest in the topic of peace seems to be minimal for almost the first time in the century. But if interest in peace is high during war or time of danger, that might indicate that Americans today perceive little or no danger of war.

Chart 17: Disarmament



Interest in disarmament reached five peaks in this century: right after World War I; during the disarmament talks circa 1930; at the end of World War II; at the end of the Korean War; and today. If disarmament concerns us at the ends of wars, perhaps today it could be seen as being at the end of the Cold War (although the charts indicate the Cold War ended years ago -- but that was not necessarily perceived at the time). Or it could simply mean that the horrendous nature of modern weapons, combined with a lack of concern about communism and some concern about political leadership, has prompted Americans to care about a safer world.

CONCLUSION

The charts above, taken together, indicate that if editors truly have an instinct for what interests and concerns magazine readers, the time is ripe for United States - Soviet negotiations leading to deep reductions in arms. The Cold War is well behind us. Americans have little concern about war, little concern about disloyalty or internal security, and little concern abat communism. (If the figures about China were added to those about the Soviet Union, the same lack of concern would be evident.) This is not a time of fear for Americans. Far-sighted leadership could take advantage of that and help bring the world to a less formidable, less explosive condition.